

With The Compliments of Elias Rossi

LIBERTY AND UNION, ONE AND INSEPARABLE.

S P E E C H E S

DELIVERED AT THE

REPUBLICAN UNION FESTIVAL,

IN COMMEMORATION OF THE BIRTH OF

WASHINGTON;

HELD AT IRVING HALL, FEB. 22, 1862

UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE

REPUBLICAN CENTRAL COMMITTEES,

OF THE CITY AND COUNTY OF NEW YORK.

NEW YORK:

G. P. PUTNAM, 532 BROADWAY.

1862.

SPEECHES

BY

ELLIOT C. COWDIN, PROF. HITCHCOCK, DR. BELLOW, WM.
M. EVARTS, HON. HENRY J. RAYMOND, HON.
HORACE GREELEY, HON. GEORGE FOLSOM,
AND E. DELAFIELD SMITH.

THE Republican Union Festival formed no insignificant portion of the celebration of WASHINGTON'S Birthday. About six hundred guests sat down to a splendid collation, provided in the best style of Mr. L. F. HARRISON, the proprietor of Irving Hall. The collation was most bountiful, and received full justice at the hands of the guests. At the main table sat SHERIDAN SNOOK, Esq., Chairman of the Republican Central Committee, Dr. Tyng, Dr. Bellows, Dr. Hitchcock, Ex-Judge Peabody, Wm. M. Evarts, Hon. Geo. Folsom, James A. Briggs, Geo. W. Blunt, Hon. H. J. Raymond, Joseph Hoxie, Erastus C. Benedict, Col. Frank E. Howe, Hon. Horace Greeley, Hon. Hiram Barney, Rufus F. Andrews, S. B. Chittenden, and others of equal note. The other tables were presided over by Hon. James Kelly, Justice Welsh, Hon. Abram Wakemann, Owen W. Brennan, Timothy G. Churchill, John Keyser, Daniel L. Pettie, Andrew Bleakley, Hon. Wm. A. Darling, Andreas Willmann, and Wm. S. Opdyke. They were decorated with appropriate emblems, comprising national flags, forts, ships, and Union mottoes, of a patriotic nature. At 8½ o'clock Mr. SNOOK called the assembly to order, and nominated for President Mr. ELLIOT C. COWDIN, who was unanimously chosen to that office.

Mr. COWDIN, on taking the Chair, was received with applause; and spoke as follows:—

SPEECH OF ELLIOT C. COWDIN.

FELLOW-CITIZENS :—My first duty is to thank you for the honor done me; and I beg leave to make my grateful acknowledgments to this distinguished company for their generous greetings.

Certainly, the position belongs not to me, but I obey the call, and, in discharging the honorable trust assigned me, I ask your kind indulgence.

We are assembled to celebrate a day of happy omen to the friends of civil liberty throughout Christendom, to commemorate the Anniversary of the Birthday of the Illustrious WASHINGTON :

“The world's great master and his own.” (*Applause.*)

It is well that we are here. Manifestations of attachment to our common country and her free institutions are at all times a gratifying spectacle, but in this hour of national solicitude they are of uncommon interest and full of hope. Verily the spirits of

our forefathers hover over us, and the father of his country looks down upon us with approbation, for we are come together in the name of the Union, so truly dear to us, never to be divided. (*Loud cheers.*)

We meet, too, for mutual congratulations on the approaching downfall of the most causeless and wicked rebellion the world ever knew. The good tidings that have reached us from the Carolinas, from Kentucky, Tennessee, and Missouri, conveying the brilliant exploits of the army and navy—now moving like an avalanche, carrying victory in their paths—gladdens our hearts, strengthens our faith, and excites our enthusiasm. (*Applause.*)

All honor to our gallant heroes. Their deeds and daring shall be remembered and cherished by an admiring and grateful people. Encircled with glory shall be their names in the Temple of Liberty, for sacrifices so great, and services so efficient rendered the nation in the hour of adversity.

What a spectacle our country now presents! With an army of more than six hundred thousand men in the field; with a navy powerful and effective; with resources in abundance; we are, moreover, feeding the famine-stricken nations of the world, and thereby putting them under bonds to keep the peace. (*Cheers.*)

As our gallant men go forth by land and by sea, imbued with the sentiments and interests of the farm, and the shop, and the counting-house; so they will carry back to those fields of industry the military and naval accomplishments there acquired. In peace they were taught to prize their rights, and in war they learn to defend them. Thus shall we teach every nation to value our friendship and dread our enmity.

Nevertheless, the times demand renewed energy, courage, *grit*. Napoleon was right when he said, "Leave sensibility to women, but men should be firm in heart and purpose, or they should have nothing to do with war and government."

On this auspicious day, at least, and especially in times like the present, it is fitting calmly to recur to the principles of the founders of the Republic.

To cherish most fervently the exalted doctrines of 1776, as set forth in the Declaration of Independence.

To declare our firm devotion to the great principles of liberty stamped upon the ordinance of 1787.

To venerate the Constitution of the United States, in all its parts, with all its obligations and all its blessings.

To adhere inflexibly to the Union of the States, one and inseparable.

To arouse and foster a spirit of genuine and fervid patriotism among the people.

To inculcate the noble principles of the Father of his Country bequeathed to us as his parting legacy.

To assert, with WASHINGTON, "Let us have a government by which our lives, liberties, and prosperities shall be secure. If defective, let it be amended, but not suffered to be trampled upon while it has an existence." (*Applause.*)

Let private emoluments and personal honors give place to whatever is most essential and best for the cause of freedom and the perpetuity of a free Constitution; and if, in the Providence of God and the progress of events, the *peculiar institution* falls, then, like Lucifer, let it fall to rise no more. (*Tremendous applause.*) Already the lamentation of its votaries has gone forth: "The thorns I have reaped are of the tree I planted. They have torn me, and I bleed."

Forgetful of past jealousies, and bickerings, and petty feuds, let us here and now, once more, renew our vows of unceasing devotion to our common country.

MACAULAY says: "No men occupy so splendid a place in history as those who have founded monarchies on the ruin of republican institutions." Heaven forbid that such splendor should ever dazzle the eyes or excite the ambition of American citizens. (*Cheers.*)

I cannot but believe that the Federal Union is destined to outlive every vicissitude, and bear up against far greater shocks than it has yet encountered. Its foundation is laid upon public justice, public virtue, and public liberty, and though for a time it may encounter great peril, and suffer momentary eclipse, thank God, it possesses a recuperative power in the hearts of millions of freemen, who will restore its wonted repose and inaugurate a new era of National greatness. But, as good citizens, we must rise to the height of this great occasion, and do our duty. Indifference and repose are unpardonable, aye, criminal, when the very existence of the nation is assailed. We should be recreants and dastards of the basest stamp, if we did not defend—resolutely, unitedly, and to the last—the institutions which WASHINGTON inaugurated—the most beneficent in the history of mankind. (*Applause.*)

Finally, fellow-citizens, let me conjure you to stand by the Government; it is the guardian of your liberties—of your wealth—of your strength. Stand by the President—he is able, faithful, honest. (*Cheers.*) Stand by the army—it is strong, devoted, invincible. Stand by the navy—it is powerful, efficient, triumphant. Listen to no reconciliation and talk not of peace, until every rebel, by an unconditional surrender, has laid down his arms. (*Cheers.*) Then may justice be done. But let the first condition of adjustment be the unqualified admission by all, that the Constitution and Laws are supreme and the Union indissoluble. (*Loud applause.*)

"By our altars pure and free;
By our law's deep-rooted tree;
By the past's dread memory;
By our Washington;
By our common kindred tongue;
By our hopes, bright, buoyant, young;
By our ties of country strong;
WE WILL STILL BE ONE!"

The President concluded his opening address amid enthusiastic applause.

Music—"The Star Spangled Banner."

The Chairman said, I rise to propose the toast which is first upon our list, as it is uppermost in our hearts.

1. *Our Country*; In peace or in war, still our Country, to be cherished with all our hearts, and defended with all our hands.

Music—"Yankee Doodle."

The President said the *second regular toast* is one which needs no comment from me.

2. *The President of the United States.*

This was greeted with loud and continued cheering.

Music—"Hail to the Chief."

The Chairman then announced that, in reply to invitations to be present, letters had been received from the Secretary of State, the Secretary of the Treasury, the Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the United States, and others, a part of which would now be read. He called upon Mr. Henry H. Huelet, to read those of Messrs. Seward, Chase, and Sumner, which are as follows:

SECRETARY SEWARD'S LETTER.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE.
WASHINGTON, Feb. 18, 1862. }*Elliot C. Cowdin, Esq., New York :*

DEAR SIR : I have had the honor of receiving the note, in which you have invited me to attend a Union festival to be celebrated on the approaching anniversary of the birth of WASHINGTON.

It would be a source of great satisfaction to me to meet the people of New York on so interesting an occasion. But Congress has instituted similar ceremonies to be observed at this Capital, and has made my attendance upon them an official duty. I need not say that in my heart, and mind, and soul, I approve these proposed observances. Disloyal citizens have seized upon that great anniversary to pervert it to a more complete organization of the conspiracy for the overthrow of the Union of which WASHINGTON was the founder, and for the betrayal of the people of the United States back again to the foreign yoke which the hand of WASHINGTON smote and broke. May we not hope that the mighty shade of the Father of his Country will be allowed to look down from its rest on that day devoted to his memory, and say which of the two are, indeed, dutiful children—those who are engaged in the destruction of that country, so blessed of God above all other lands, or those who have committed themselves to its salvation.

I am, dear Sir, yours, very faithfully,

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

SECRETARY CHASE'S LETTER.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 20, 1862.

SIR : Most gladly would I unite with the citizens of New York in celebrating the anniversary of the Birthday of WASHINGTON, could I leave, even for such a purpose, my post of duty at this time ; but I must remain here.

The celebration which you propose, and similar celebrations spontaneously springing from the same impulse, all over the country, justify the hope that the memory of WASHINGTON, ever living in the hearts of his countrymen, will lend an appropriate inspiration to all our endeavors to restore the Union, which he contributed so much to establish. We need that inspiration. We need for the trials of these days his firmness, his patience, his disinterestedness, his true courage, his lofty sense of justice, his enlightened zeal for impartial freedom. These are the virtues, which, exercised in such degree as men are capable of, will not only restore the Union, but reëstablish it in more than its pristine vigor, compactness, and beneficence.

Yours, very truly,

S. P. CHASE.

ELLIOT C. COWDIN, Esq., &c.

SENATOR SUMNER'S LETTER.

SENATE CHAMBER, 19th Feb., 1862.

MY DEAR SIR : I should be glad to be with you at your Festival of the 22d February, but my duties will keep me here.

Let us honor the memory of WASHINGTON, but sincerely honoring him, we cannot become indifferent to those great principles of Human Freedom, consecrated by his life, and by the solemn act of his Last Will and Testament.

Ever sincerely yours,

CHARLES SUMNER.

ELLIOT C. COWDIN, Esq.

The third regular toast.

3. *The Governor of the State of New York.*

This was a signal for much applause.

A letter from His Excellency GOVERNOR MORGAN was then read.

GOV. MORGAN'S LETTER.

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,
ALBANY, Feb. 21, 1862. }

SIR: I have received your letter of the 14th inst., inviting me to attend a Union Festival at Irving Hall, to be held on the approaching anniversary of the birthday of WASHINGTON. I am compelled to say, in reply, that official engagements here will deprive me of the pleasure of accepting your kind invitation.

The 22d of February should always be a holiday to be kept and celebrated in a becoming manner, but there are reasons now, not hitherto existing, for more jubilant rejoicings. Nor can any one, at this time, read WASHINGTON'S Farewell Address attentively without a deeper and a more abiding impression than ever before of the wisdom of that Patriot and Statesman. Let, then, his warning voice, as well as his glorious deeds, be ever remembered and cherished, his brilliant example be everywhere followed, and let this Union be prized and adhered to, not only for the benefits and blessings it has conferred in its past history, but for the richer glories and triumphs which lie in the future.

I have the honor to be, with great respect,

Your obedient servant,

MR. ELLIOT C. COWDIN, &c.

E. D. MORGAN.

The President said—I hold in my hand two other letters, to which I invite your attention. They are from Governors of neighboring States, who, like our own Chief Magistrate, have evinced untiring devotion to the Union, and have rendered signal service to the Government. One is from Gov. CURTIN, of Pennsylvania, and the other from GOVERNOR SPRAGUE, of Rhode Island.

GOV. CURTIN'S LETTER.

PENNSYLVANIA EXECUTIVE CHAMBER, }
HARRISBURGH, PENN., FEB. 19, 1862. }

DEAR SIR: I have your letter of the 15th, inviting me to attend the Union Festival in New York on the 22d of this month. I shall on that day be engaged in the celebration of the festival in the metropolis in which the Declaration of Independence was adopted, and where was the home of WASHINGTON during the period of his civil service.

It will, therefore, be impossible for me to be present in New York, in accordance with your invitation.

It has pleased the Almighty so to shape events, that our brave and loyal men have been at last permitted to move in earnest; and thus in the approaching anniversary of the birthday of WASHINGTON, we shall at once refresh our memories of that patriot and sage, and glory in the certainty of the speedy overthrow of the monstrous rebellion, which for so many months has been rampant among the besotted and benighted people of a portion of our country.

I have the honor to be, Sir, with much respect,

Your obedient servant,

A. G. CURTIN.

ELLIOT C. COWDIN, Esq., Chairman, &c., &c.

GOV. SPRAGUE'S LETTER.

STATE OF RHODE ISLAND, &c., EXECUTIVE }
DEPARTMENT, PROVIDENCE, Feb. 20, 1862. }

DEAR SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your invitation of the 15th. I cannot be present to address your Committee at their "Union Festival" on the 22d inst., and no letter could enhance the pleasure of the occasion. The recent success of our arms furnishes abundant cause for congratulation and rejoicing. I take

pride in assuring you that the people of Rhode Island will unanimously join with the patriotic observers of this day. My presence with them requires that I should accept of no invitations away from my own home. I observe with pleasure the name under which you assemble.

Let the Union of these divided States be uppermost in your councils and first in your prayers.

Strive for the preservation of the Constitution. I know of no shelter so secure for the liberties of the people, no asylum where their rights can be more zealously guarded, no method more safe by which the blessings of free government which we have enjoyed can be transmitted to our children and our posterity.

I beg you will assure your Committee that, although unable to be with them, my interest in the cause, and the object of their meeting, is still warm and active.

With sincere good wishes,

I am, my dear Sir, your obedient servant,

WM. SPRAGUE.

To ELLIOT C. COWDIN, Esq., &c.

The fourth regular toast,

4. *The Mayor of the City of New York* was received with loud applause. Mr. Jas. M. Thomson proposed three cheers for the Hon. George Opdyke, which were enthusiastically given. The chair remarked that His Honor, Mayor Opdyke, would have been present, but for duties elsewhere connected with the celebration of this anniversary.

The fifth regular toast,

5. *The Character of Washington*—It possessed a power to rally a nation in an hour of disaster; amid the storm of war it cheered and guided the country's friends; it flamed, too, like a meteor to repel her foes; in peace it commanded a nation's confidence and the world's respect.

The President said—This sentiment will be responded to by one distinguished for his services in the cause of religion and education, and equally so for his devotion to our free institutions. I invite your attention to the Rev. Dr. Hitchcock.

SPEECH OF PROFESSOR ROSWELL D. HITCHCOCK, D.D.

MR. PRESIDENT:—I have learned several things as I have been sitting here this evening. From a recent outburst of applause, I infer that none of you voted for Fernando Wood at the last municipal election. I have also concluded that you like "Old Abe" very well, and do not like Slavery. And, furthermore, it is pretty plain to me by this time [*the hall was now quite full of cigar smoke*], that you not only mean to maintain the integrity of the old Union, but that you are already annexing Cuba, or Havana at any rate, to our domain. (Applause.)

By some oversight, as the Committee assured me, I had late notice of my expected appearance here to-night. The very civil gentleman who brought me at once the invitation and the apology, tried to persuade me that it made no great difference, since I was desired to speak to the Memory of Washington, "and that, you know, is so easy." "So easy!" It reminded me of the New England deacon, who had an itching to preach, and, after giving his minister a good deal of trouble about the matter, was at length permitted to make the attempt. The good man broke down very near the beginning of his discourse, and cut short his unlucky experiment by stammering out: "Beloved brethren, I used to think it was a mighty easy thing to preach. If any of you think so, I advise you to come up here and try." If your Committee-man, or anybody else, thinks it so easy to speak of Washington, let him try it. (Cheers.)

Seriously, Mr. President and gentlemen, whether on short notice or on long notice, I regard it as anything but easy to speak to the memory of this peerless man. Many eloquent tongues have attempted this familiar theme, and still the theme remains defiant of them all. So free was the character of Washington from everything protuberant and jagged, so admirably balanced were all his faculties, so complete, rounded out, and even, the whole genius of the man, that the handling of his character is like the grasping of a large and highly polished ivory ball. In all my studies I encounter no such miracle of Providence. When I think of what he was, and of what he accomplished for us, I dare not boast of him as the product of our soil and of our institutions. I am as proud as any man of our Continent, and proud of the Republic, but I dare not claim for them the credit of such a harvest. He who was "first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen," is vastly more to me than the great American; he is the great *Man* of all the races and of all the ages. I hail him, more in gratitude than in pride, as the gift of God to our nation, sent rather from above than from amongst us, to be our one pattern man and pattern Republican for all coming time. God be thanked, then, let us all say, God be thanked, for the glorious Memory of Washington!

Met now to celebrate his birth, let us be warned against incurring the just and bitter condemnation of those who garnish the sepulchres of their Prophets, while they neglect their teachings. The President of the United States, in this hour of our national distress, did wisely in inviting the clergy of the land to open their houses of worship to-day for the reading of Washington's Farewell Address to his Countrymen. I have not been able to take part in any of these public services, but twice during the day have I read over carefully by myself, in the retirement of my study, this incomparable document. Of course I had read it before, as we all have many times perhaps, but to-day I have read it with an astonishment and an admiration, which I can hardly express. I am startled to find it so prescient. The duties it enjoins upon us, are precisely the most needed lessons of the day and the hour. The evils against which it warns us, are precisely the evils which are now upon us, clutching at our throats. I am sure I cannot do you a better service than by reviewing briefly the leading points of this remarkable Address. Four points are specially prominent.

1st. Our attitude towards foreign nations. We are solemnly warned against all foreign entanglements, whether of alliance or of hostility. We are neither insanely to hate England, nor insanely to love France. They are on one side of the Atlantic, and we on the other. There let them stay, and mind their own business, while we stay here and mind our own business. As a nation we have been altogether too sensitive in regard to the opinions and doings of other nations. For a long time we cherished bitter memories of England. Quite recently the tide was turned. The Prince of Wales, for his mother's sake and for his own, was showered with our eager and generous benedictions in every city and in every hamlet through which he passed from the Atlantic to the Mississippi, and from the Mississippi back again to the Atlantic. England in his person asked us to be her friend and ally in the troublous times which are perhaps before her; and we answered, Yes, we will. That bond is now broken, if not by the English people, at all events by the English government. Its selfish, one-sided, misnamed neutrality has stung us to the quick. We do not regret the lavish hospitalities of a little more than a year ago; we still bless the widowed Queen, whose honored husband served us with his dying hand; but against the scornful aristocracy of England we have closed our bosoms as with bars of steel. They have had their

choice, and now let them abide by it. We meditate, I trust, no revenge. But from this hour onwards they must tread their own path of destiny, while we tread ours. The lesson has been a painful one, but worth all its cost. Henceforth we obey the early mandate of our Washington. We shake ourselves clear of all foreign entanglements. We wrap ourselves in the mantle of our own institutions, our own traditions, our own ideas, our own interests, and stand here erect and solid on our own continent to work out our own salvation. We thank Russia for her generous sympathy, and we hail her rising power as destined to divide with us the real empire of the future; but we ask no help, as we dread no rivalry. From this time forward we wish to be, and mean to be, only Americans. (Cheers.)

2nd. Another point of equally vital moment, is Union amongst ourselves. First, as against geographical divisions and rivalries; and equally as against the spirit of party, imperilling the public weal. Our government is not a loose confederation, but a compact, organic, close Union of the States. For ten years (from 1777 to 1787), our Fathers had ample trial of the principle of Confederation, and then sent it to the tomb of the Capulets. There let it rest, with no resurrection trumpet ever sounding its recall. Our nationality is no artificial, dead conglomerate of independent, sovereign parts, but an organic, living, puissant body, knit limb to limb. This is the doctrine which we are now proclaiming in the hoarse thunder of battle over the land and over the sea. Our territory is a unit, made so by the hand of the Almighty, when our mountains were heaved to their place, and our rivers had their channels cut for them. This unity we mean to keep, maintaining it, if need be, against the world in arms. Over this undivided, indivisible heritage, purchased for us by the valor of our sires, we have sworn that no flag shall ever wave but our own dear old flag of the Stripes and the Stars, rendered more and more dear to us by every fresh baptism of blood. Territorial dismemberment is nothing less than national assassination, which we mean to resist to our last dollar and our last man. The West is ours, not less than the East; the South, not less than the North; and we intend to hold them all together in the name of liberty and order. If foreign intervention threatens us, we shall beat it back. If domestic rebellion lifts its hateful front, we shall strike it down. The cotton fields of South Carolina must be for ever ours, if we have to sow them with salt. The mouth of the Mississippi must be for ever ours, if we have to keep it for alligators. This issue was not clear to us at first. Before Sumter was fired upon, multitudes amongst us, lovers of peace and freedom, honestly believed that there was nothing left for us but to endure dismemberment. We had then no proper sense of nationality. But the angry roar of Beauregard's artillery, in the twinkling of an eye, changed all that. The thunder which was designed simply to detach the border States from their old allegiance, and to shake them down into the lecherous arms of the Confederacy, in the good Providence of God had quite another office to discharge in rousing the nation from its stupid slumber. At that call, the giant started to his feet, and with one impatient stamp shook the continent from sea to sea. Six hundred thousand men are now following the bugles of victory, and will not turn back till they have planted the flag of the Union in every rebellious State. (Great applause.)

But it is not enough that we save the Union. We must save it as patriots, and not as partisans. You, gentlemen, are Republicans. What I have been, and am, is no concern of yours. I address you to-night as an American. And I warn you solemnly against going into this holy war as Republicans. Go into it only as Americans, and with all your might. Praise no General because he has been a Republican. Criticise

no General because he has been a Democrat. Praise only the General, whether Republican or Democrat, who reaches the enemy by the shortest cut, and deals him the heaviest blow. (Great applause.)

3rd. Washington also exhorts us earnestly to maintain the credit of the nation. Find out what your honest debts are, and then make prompt and ample provision for their payment. On this point I need not enlarge. The people are already inspired with the proper sentiment in regard to this matter. While they make short work with greedy, unscrupulous contractors, they mean to fight this battle through with honest fists, and then settle the bills without grumbling. Their voice to the government is, "Spare no necessary expense, only fight this rebellion dead, and you may tax us to the very bottom of our pockets." (Cheers.)

4th. Finally, and most important of all, we are reminded that intelligence and virtue are the pillars of our Republic. Without morality, we are told, there can be no freedom and no prosperity; and without religion there can be no morality. These are the golden lessons of the hour. The South is now in rebellion because it has been demoralized; and demoralized to a large extent because its ministers of religion have been so scandalously false to the proper genius of the Gospel. The whole land needs evangelizing on a scale not yet realized. The future is big with responsibilities, which are destined to tax our faith and our patience to their utmost. Let us gird ourselves for this gigantic, momentous labor. We stand here in the breach not only for ourselves, and for our children, but for all mankind. Upon our shoulders is laid the task of building up here a noble Christian Republic, the light of whose example shall be for the guidance of all the nations of the earth.

But there remains another topic, on which I cannot be silent without being utterly false to the very spirit of the occasion which has now called us together. A topic ignored in the Address of Washington, as it is ignored also in our Constitution. But not ignored by Washington in his last will and testament, in which he gave freedom to his bondmen; nor ignored in the Constitution because of any want of fidelity to the rights of man. Washington regarded slavery as a curse and a sin. So likewise did the framers of our Constitution. They permitted, indeed, its continuance as a local institution, supported by local legislation. But they studiously excluded it from the great charter of our nationality, looking forward confidently to the time when it should go down out of our system, as we trust the last of the piratical craft of the Confederates will soon go down before our loyal cannon, and leave in an hour no bubble to mark the spot. Since then there has been a great apostasy. Slavery, instead of being merely tolerated for a season, is now embraced and eulogized as a Divine and beneficent institution; and we of the North are called upon to leap down into the same abyss of apostasy and shame. We will do no such thing. We stand by the better doctrine of our fathers. Slavery we denounce as a cruel wrong to the black man, as a fatal cancer eating its way to the very vitals of the white man. As a local institution, destined eventually to be uprooted and disappear, we can give it tolerance. But as a political power, enthroned in our national Capital, and dictating our national policy, we have registered in heaven our oath that it shall no more have dominion over us. The Constitution, framed in the interest of freedom and not of slavery, we have sworn shall be administered in the interest of freedom. *No more slave territory*, is now emblazoned upon our banner, never to be erased. What territory it now has, slavery may keep and curse, if it will; but it shall snatch no more. And what it has we will hem in closer and closer with free soil tilled by free men, till it shall be like the scorpion begirt with

fire. This is all we ask for. We counsel no violence to the provisions of our present Constitution. We pray for no better Constitution. We are altogether content with the Constitution as it is. Our single demand is, that it be administered in the spirit of its framers. Then shall we be insured against the hatching of another such rebellion as this, against which we are now in arms. Then may we anticipate the time, not far remote, when slavery itself shall be shaken from our bosom like a nightmare dream. (Renewed cheers.)

The sixth regular toast :—

6. *The Union*—"The main pillar in the edifice of your real independence : the support of your tranquillity at home, your peace abroad ; of your safety ; of your prosperity ; of that very liberty which you so highly prize."

The President said—I have great pleasure in coupling with this toast the name of one, who, by his voice, his pen, and his untiring devotion, has rendered signal service to the Union, and to its brave defenders. I present to you the Rev. Dr. Bellows, President of the United States Sanitary Commission. (Applause.)

SPEECH OF REV. HENRY W. BELLOWES, D.D.

Rev. Dr. BELLOWES responded. He said that the Union was a fact, and a very tough fact. The natural features of our country could not destroy its geographical integrity. The Almighty had established such geographical connections and relations between the parts of this country, shutting us between the lakes and the Gulf, and extending us from ocean to ocean, that this geographical fact cannot be lost sight of, and must be deferred to and respected. The Union, too, was an ethnological fact. We were one people. We were of one blood and one lineage, and one language ; and by this relations and communications, affections, sympathies, intercourse, inter-marriages had been established between the various parts of this country. Our very difficulties were the very things which bound us together. The very fact that we understand each other's censure, and hear our sentiments hurled back to us in the same language, is the very reason that we are so much exasperated against one another. It was because we were brothers, and because this is a family quarrel, having all the animosity of a family quarrel. But they could not divide this people. Slavery, black as it was, and hateful and accursed as it was, had not the power to separate that which God, ethnologically and by identity of language, had united together. (Applause.) Then, too, the Union was a great economical fact. We were united by commercial and industrial relations in such a way that the country could not be broken up. It was a curious fact, to be observed about this time, that the Stocks of the disloyal States grew better and stronger in our market for every thrashing we gave them. The moment we had a victory, making the fact more apparent that the rebel States could not get out of the Union, it caused a rise in stock of the rebel States. That fact spoke louder than any other. When England saw that a victory which tended to demolish the rebels made their own property the more valuable, he would like to see what England would think of that. The Union was also a great political fact. We had political antecedents ; we had a Constitution ; we had affectionate memories of our fathers who created it. We had solemn oaths registered in Heaven of fidelity to that Constitution. That Constitution was solemnly rooted in the whole history of the country, and it was destined to keep us one people, and as to the Slavery question, if there was a mighty Anti-Slavery document in the world, it was the Constitution of the United States. (Applause.) What

was this rebellion? It was a rebellion against the Constitution, because it would not strengthen, and extend, and give political power to Slavery! What had made this wicked rebellion, but the simple fact that in this country, faithful to the Constitution for long years, during which the Constitution had been interpreted in behalf of Slavery, in the course of events, in the charge of those who wielded the power of the Government, the Constitution came to receive its natural interpretation, unfavorable to Slavery? The rebellion arose because the Constitution was an Anti-Slavery document from the moment that the political majority was enabled to interpret it in the interests of liberty. It was a most formidable battery—a most tremendous agency, against which nobody could say a word. They should so press it that it should do its whole work, and if he was not very much mistaken in the character of the people, whatever party should raise its head and endeavor to stay our hand by an effort to make a false peace, before the war had done its work, and this Constitution had been fully sped to its home, would be entirely put down by the moral sense of the people. The Union, too, was a great moral fact. It had become imbedded in the mind and had shaped the intellect of the people. It had become the expression of their hopes and desires in a political direction. It was also a great spiritual fact. There was intrusted to us a sacred duty to vindicate free institutions, and to turn that dreadful tide of reaction which, for the last few years, had been apparent, by which free institutions had been read backward. In conclusion the speaker alluded to the effect which had been produced abroad by American history, and of the false estimate that was formed of our institutions, as to their permanency, by reason of the smallness of our army and navy in times of peace. He gave the following toast:—

The Union—The land and the waters, mountains and rivers, lineage and language, laws and Constitution, interests and instinct, affection and passion, duty and destiny, all cry out against its dissolution, and proclaim it perpetual. (*Applause.*)

The seventh regular toast.

7. *The Constitution of the United States*:—With all its privileges and blessings, may it be perpetuated to the latest posterity. (*Applause.*)

The Chairman remarked:—I beg to associate with this sentiment the name of William M. Evarts, Esq., a gentleman to whom we all delight to listen. (*Loud cheers.*)

SPEECH OF WILLIAM M. EVARTS, ESQ.

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN: It is my good fortune, by the kind invitation of your committee, to take part now, for the third time, in the celebration of this great national festival, under the auspices of the Republican Association; and the three occasions, including the present, are at three notable stages in the great national transaction for the inauguration of which, in support of the constitution, and for the triumphant maintenance of the constitution through which the Republican party is, in my judgment, mainly responsible. (*Applause.*) We celebrated the day in 1860, in advance of the Republican nomination for the Presidency, which had for its purpose to defend the Constitution against the encroachment of a great State interest, that was striving to impress a local institution upon the national life and character. We succeeded in the election, under the peaceful forms of the Constitution, and had transferred the power of the government from the faction that had so long wielded it, to hands that were faithful to the spirit of the Constitution. (*Applause.*) We celebrated this anniversary in 1861, in the waning months of the Administration of Mr. Buchanan, in the very midnight of the gloom

which prevailed over this country, from the period of the election of Mr. Lincoln, until the guns of Sumter proclaimed the breaking day. (*Applause.*) A military rebellion was planned and threatened, and had commenced the revolt which since has made such head. We celebrate it now, sir, when the armed rebellion has assumed its fullest proportions—when the power of the country has been raised against it,—and when the declining fortunes of treason announce that, soon, reinstated and re-established, the Constitution will resume its sway over the whole territory of the Republic. (*Loud Applause.*) Mr. President, it was the Constitution as our fathers framed it, before the rebellion broke out; it is the same Constitution while the rebellion rages;—and it will be the same Constitution when the rebellion is over. (*Applause.*) And, without laying any stress upon the great topics of popular liberty, and of national strength and pride, which have been aimed at, at least, in other political constitutions, let us understand that the vital and peculiar principle of our Constitution is, that a great nation can be formed, with the strength of government and its fund of power so distributed as not to be an overmatch for the freedom of the people—that a nation can be constituted powerful enough to maintain itself in the family of nations, and to secure to its citizens the honor, respect, and protection which only a mighty nationality can command, and yet, by the division of the great fund of power essential to government, between the general and the local administration, the people can be protected in their freedom, and secured in the management of their every-day interests by representation, neither remote from them, nor insensible to every duty to them.

Mr. President, the first essential safeguard of this distribution of powers is, that the General Government shall deal only with that which is common and national, and the State Government shall have the exclusive administration of what is local and peculiar. The struggle, under such a distribution of power, constantly is, or constantly may be, for local institutions and interests, to strive to force themselves into National life and character; and, on the other hand, for the General Government to establish rules and laws for domestic institutions and interests, which its policy and its purpose, as the policy and the purpose of the majority of the Nation, may suggest. I hold that the fundamental principle of the Republican party,—the key-note of its political purpose and action,—has been, and is, to oppose this invasion by domestic and peculiar interests, of the domain of National power. (*Applause.*) To stop the encroachment of slavery, and to destroy the political power of slavery, was the purpose and end, and will be to the last, as thus far it has been, the success of the Republican party. According to the experience of the Nation, when, by the suffrage under the Constitution, we had placed a Republican Administration in Washington, we had accomplished our political purpose, and secured the triumph of our principles. The Ballot, which our Constitution decreed should be the final arbiter in political controversies, had placed the control of the Government in our hands. But, a strange novelty in our affairs, an appeal was taken to arms; and we, the people of this country, have been obliged to try over again, by the bullet, and the bayonet, those questions which the will of the Nation had settled by the ballot. The Constitution is to be maintained—and it is always and in all things to be maintained—and when that question has been settled by the absolute suppression of the rebellion and the peaceful resumption of the dominion of the laws, then, but not till then, the triumph is complete.

And, now, Mr. President, allow me to say, that the Constitution is equally concerned, and the maintenance of our liberties and our power is equally concerned, that the invasion by the General Government of the sphere of local and domestic institutions

and interests, shall never be permitted. It will be found that the good Ship of the Constitution has *two* broad sides, equally well armed, and whose thunders alike are sleepless when danger threatens. (*Loud applause.*) Whenever danger comes, as it has done, from local or State interests striving to control the Federal Government, we have a broadside for the enemy in that quarter; and whenever the rage of the contest seeks to make the struggle revolutionary, and to carry the Federal Government into a suppression of the clear right of the States to the control of their domestic legislation, it will be found that the other broadside of the Constitution has as many tiers of guns, of as heavy metal, and with ammunition as effective, as when it was bearing upon its enemy on the other quarter. (*Applause.*) We are attached to our government, we know that it will bear the stress to which it is now subjected, and, in the future, we fear not but that it will ontride every storm. Therefore, all fears and alarms that because we are sustaining the Constitution against one hostile power, we shall, by the zeal of the contest, be carried beyond the lines of duty, and press this war into a revolutionary interference with what the Constitution attributes to State control, are, in my judgment, wholly vain.

But, gentlemen, a word as to the Constitution and its relations to slavery as rising in this war. In the first place, with all the reading that I have been able to give to the Constitution, I have never been able to see, that, beyond a single clause in it of very narrow application, there was the least obligation, or the least duty, in regard to the protection or maintenance of slavery anywhere. (*Applause.*) We have, undoubtedly, a constitutional provision and duty, that in a certain specific case, where slavery presents itself outside of the State in which it prevails as a domestic institution, it shall be remanded to its home, there to be dealtt with. I refer, of course, to the fugitive slave clause of the Consitution. We have another provision, generally referred to as having some concern with slavery, which obliges the Federal Government to assist loyal State authorities in suppressing insurrections, too great for their own power to subdue. But that provision, gentlemen, applies to an insurrection of free white men, just as much as to an insurrection of black slaves; to an insurrection in Massachusetts, just as much as to an insurrection in South Carolina. It is in matter of general concern that the civil structure of the State shall not be overthrown by an armed rebellion, too powerful for the resourees of the State to put down. Indeed, the only occasions, in our constitutional history, where this power of the Federal Government has been invoked, have been to suppress seditious combinations of white men in the free States of the country. Now, gentlemen, men think differently, in dealing with the subject of slavery, as to the *end* at which they should begin. Many men, enlightened, public-spirited, earnest, and zealous, think that the social structure of slavery must be undermined, in order to overthrow its encroaching political power. My own judgment and feeling have always been, that the political power of slavery must first be overthrown, in order that its social structure may be undermined. It is our duty to see to it that slavery gains not one ounce of strength, not one day of duration by any added support of the Federal Government. (*Applause.*)

But, that duty discharged it is our further duty to leave slavery to the disintegration and destruction, which, thus thrown back and made a domestic and local instintion, domestic and local control of it must, of necessity, occasion. The power of the Federal Government is what has kept it alive in many of the States of the Union, and gives it strength in all where it still maintains itself. In that, the free states have been guilty. But they have repented, and they have brought forth fruits meet for repentance. They no longer sustain or protect it. And just as surely as the weight of the Federal Govern-

ment, thrown into the scale of slavery, hitherto has influenced politics in the free states, and made them pro-slavery in sentiment and in action, just as surely will the power and patronage of the Federal Government, when engaged on the side of free principles, make the slave states anti-slavery. But it will do it without injury to the text or to the spirit of the Constitution;—correcting its bad support of a feeble and enfeebling institution, it will leave it to the processes which its own society will provide for its destruction. Why should we consider slavery, when robbed of its political strength and driven to depend upon its own merit, and its own unaided forces, a dangerous institution? To whom is it dangerous? Look at the states on which it turns its fond gaze and upon which it bestows its smiles; and look at the states on which, retreating, it turns back its frowns. No, gentlemen, believe me, the favor of slavery is a false, a meretricious favor, and, as of every other harlot, it is its love and not its hate that should inspire fear, and its rage inflicts no wounds so deep as its caresses. (*Applause.*)

Gentlemen, we are fighting, and we are fighting for the Constitution. War, to sustain the Constitution, however different from peace in its *methods*, is just as constitutional. It is always constitutional to support the Constitution by such measures and by such weapons as are necessary to repel the force that is brought against it. And while this constitutional war lasts, its forces, its blows, shall not be withheld, not averted, not parried by the Constitution, but shall fall with whatever shattering force they may upon the institution of slavery; and whatever slave war makes free, peace, restored, shall never re-enslave. (*Applause.*) Go on with your war. It falls upon the guilty authors of the rebellion—the slaveholding aristocracy of the South. (*Renewed applause.*) Let it fall, with all its weight, upon the bad stimulant of their unholy passions—the institution of slavery; and when the war is over, whatever of slavery is left within the jurisdiction of loyal state governments, will be dealt with by them. If the structure of society shall be so far broken by prolonged contumacy of rebellion, in any region, that a loyal state government cannot be found, or the materials of its rightful and safe construction cannot be gathered, then society, by necessity, falls under the protective control of the Federal government, and slavery, then, in common with all other institutions, will be directly dealt with. (*Applause.*) But, gentlemen, with good faith and an honest purpose, we will maintain the principles of the Constitution, and not in the zeal of the contest, or in the heat of our own resentments, or in the glow of our own just enthusiasm for liberty, destroy the Constitution that this war is, on our part, raised to uphold. (*Applause.*)

There has been a great deal of puzzle, gentlemen, about a certain matter in this war, when the progress of our arms brings us in contact with the black population of the South. A somewhat taking theory and phrase, that never seemed to me to be very sensible, were, early in the campaign, put forth by a distinguished general, which, putting slavery upon the ground of *property*, described the slaves as *contraband* of war. My view of the Constitution, in this connection, is this: that the slaves of the South are to the Constitution and to the Federal government but a part of the *population* of the South. (*Applause.*) And when treason defies the Government, and raises the flame of war, the Constitution knows but two descriptions of people—those that are loyal, and those that are rebel. (*Loud applause.*) And, weighed against the safety and protection of the *loyal slave*, the lives and fortunes of a hundred *rebel masters* are but dust in the balance. (*Applause.*) This proposition, so thorough and universal, arises under the laws of *war*—a constitutional war—and no enactment of Congress can add greater vigor of authority, or produce greater practical results, than an active exertion of these powers of war.

Mr. President, I believe I have said all that is necessary about the Constitution. I do not believe, as an eloquent gentleman has suggested to us, that it is altogether a matter of *geography* whether we maintain the Union and our federal Government or not. I think it depends a great deal more upon the *people* of the country,—upon their intelligence, upon their integrity, upon their virtue, upon their willingness, in sober and honest endurance, to bear the burdens that are necessary for the triumph of our cause. I believe, Mr. President, that we need to marshal the financial resources of the country with equal courage and wisdom—that we must pay taxes long-continued and heavy. As, too, I believe that this generation has been guilty of the desertions of public duty that have come so near overthrowing the great fabric of Government that our ancestors transmitted to us, I say that it is unjust and cowardly for us to put on our posterity the payment for our sins. (*Applause.*) I would like to know what manhood there is in saying, “We will defend against the dangers that our feeble and selfish politics have brought upon the noble heritage that our fathers prepared for us and future generations, but we will make our children pay the expenses of it.” (*Applause.*) And we must insist upon it, that, with the same perseverance, the same fidelity, the same honest self-sacrifice, with which our fathers wrought for us, we will labor in this, the heat of our day, for our children. *We must be honest.* I say it, Mr. President, with profound sincerity, that, next to the crime of taking money to betray your country, in its danger, is the offence of extorting money for defending it in its necessity. (*Applause.*) I don’t believe in that softness of phrase which makes it a crime to grow rich by the betrayal, and a happy fortune to grow rich out of the necessities, of the country. (*Loud applause.*) Let us see to it that a deep and firm public opinion makes itself felt upon this subject—felt by the Government, felt by the Cabinet, felt by the contractors, and felt by the people. (*Applause.*)

The eighth regular toast:—

The Army and Navy.

The President said—It was expected that we should have with us to-night, to respond to this toast, Maj. Gen. Fremont. (Tremendous cheering.) In reply to an invitation, he telegraphed two days since in these words: “I shall try to be with you at the time fixed.” His engagements, however, have prevented his attendance. I hold in my hand a letter received from him this morning, and I invite your attention to the magnanimity which pervades it.

GEN. FREMONT’S LETTER.

ELLIOT C. COWDIN, Esq.—

MY DEAR SIR:—In reply to your letter of the 17th, I beg you to say to the Committee that I am fully sensible of the honor done me, in being designated to reply in behalf of “The Army and Navy.”

Their important and signal victories assure the preservation of that nationality whose attainment is typified in the name you meet to honor, and I should have been glad of the opportunity to add my voice to the applause which a grateful country gives them on this anniversary.

Especially would I have been glad to have found so fitting an occasion to express my own admiration of the brilliant successes of our Inland Navy, and that part of the Western Army in whose triumphs I naturally feel a special interest.

My engagements here are, however, of such a positive character, that they will not permit me to be absent.

Begging you, therefore, to assure the Committee of my hearty participation in the objects of the meeting,

I am, very truly yours,

J. C. FREMONT,
Major-General U. S. Army.

WASHINGTON, 21st February, 1862.

(*Long-continued cheering.*)

A letter had also been received from Gen. SCOTT, which was read, as follows :—

GEN. SCOTT'S LETTER.

BREVOORT HOUSE, Feb. 22, 1862.

DEAR SIR :—Nothing could be more flattering than your invitation for this evening, but I am very much an invalid, and fear that I am already under more engagements for the day than my strength will allow me to comply with.

I beg you and your associates to accept my grateful acknowledgments, with the assurance that the esteem of my countrymen is very precious to me in the decline of life. (*Loud cheers.*)

WINFIELD SCOTT.

E. C. COWDIN, Esq.

The ninth regular toast :—

The Fathers of the Republic—Inspired by the great principles of the Declaration of Independence, they battled not for themselves, but for their country and mankind.

The Chair called upon the Hon. HENRY J. RAYMOND, Speaker of the Assembly, to respond, who came forward amid great applause, and spoke as follows :—

SPEECH OF HON. H. J. RAYMOND.

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN : I respond with great pleasure to the toast which has been assigned me—a pleasure second only to that with which I find myself in the midst of this goodly band of Republicans, on the anniversary of the Birthday of the Father of the Republic. I think it meet and proper that those who have led off in this second great war of Liberty should celebrate the Birthday of him who was foremost in the war which gave us independence at the outset of our history. I think it eminently fitting that we should honor the memory of the Fathers of the Republic, for we have inherited their sentiments—we honor their names—and we are to-day following their example. There is not a solitary principle of the Republican party, that does not find its precedent and vindication in the principles and opinions of those who are honored in that toast, as the Fathers of the Republic, and as they then sent forth to the world that Declaration of Independence, which was the beginning of the great events which secured us freedom from foreign oppression, so have the Republicans of this day sent forth to the world, and are now sustaining by their arms, that second Declaration of Independence, which is to deliver this country from a still more formidable power than Great Britain ever was to us—I mean the Political Domination of Slavery. (*Cheers and applause.*)

I take it, sir, that that was the specific object for which the Republican Party was organized. We saw day by day, step by step, growing up in this country the power of an oligarchy of a little more than three hundred thousand men, based upon an enormous property in human beings—an oligarchy based upon slavery—not content with the position assigned to it by the Constitution of our country; not content with its

position as a social institution and a form of labor, as an evil that had descended to it from the past, and which they were to remove as they best might in the course of time; not content with this, but seeking to establish itself as the permanent, dominating, supreme power, not only over its own section, and the States in which it existed, but over the affairs, foreign and domestic, of this whole Republic. (*Applause.*) It was this state of danger that called the Republican party into power. The nation had already seen all the powers of our General Government passing under the control of this same slave oligarchy, and by it, directly or indirectly, wielded in all the departments of the Government. I need not recite the familiar history. Slavery dictated the law of the land, and wielded the hand by which that law was put into execution. It is to the eternal honor of the Republicans of the United States that they had the courage and determination to make a stand against this power, and to declare the independence of the country of its authority and control. (*Loud applause.*) They succeeded at that tribunal established by the Constitution of the country for the settlement of all great questions of difference. They appealed to the ballot, and at the ballot they carried their point. Success had established the fact that the power and control of this country—the Constitutional authority of the Republic of the United States—was properly and justly in the hands of those who were the foes of the political domination of Slavery. They established by the highest tests known to our Government their right to wield the Government of the United States. Was this oligarchy satisfied with the decision? Not at all. They appealed from the ballot-box to the bullet. They declared that if they could not maintain their supremacy by their votes they would fly to arms, and by force maintain the domination they had usurped. They have tried that, and they must await the issue.

We beat them with the ballot. We are perfectly willing to try the question, if needs be, by arms, and take our chance of beating them with the bullet. (*Applause and cheers.*) We are willing to meet them on any field they choose to select, by any form of trial they can discover or invent, and there assert the right of the sovereign people of the United States to make laws and control the policy of the Government, regardless of the dictates of this oligarchy, which would make slavery the corner-stone of our great Republic.

They started the rebellion with every prospect of success. They started with high and glowing hopes. They had been twenty-five years in making their preparations. They had organized their conspiracy. They had drilled their men. They had formed their alliances here, in our very midst, in the Northern States. They had allies upon whom they had counted; and when they raised the rebel flag they staked the existence of their oligarchy on the issue of that trial.

We spent a long time in preparation. We had to do so, for they had taken us unawares. We did not believe that they would rebel against the Government which was known to them only by its blessings, and against which they had not one solitary just and well-grounded complaint. We never believed, to the very last day of the experiment, that they were sincere in their purpose of rebellion. Thus it came to pass—while they were organized, while they could put one, two, or four hundred thousand men into the field upon the spur of the moment, we, on behalf of the great Republic of the United States, were without an army, without resources, without organization, without a settled purpose, without a fixed conviction, even, that it would be necessary to fight at all. All this preliminary work which they had done, we had to do after they had made the issue and presented themselves in the field to meet it. Is it any

wonder that delay has attended our movements? The Administration did everything which man could do to meet the emergency, and they are prepared to meet it to-day. They stand in the field ready to meet it—determined and resolved to meet it at the earliest possible moment—(*applause*)—and with what results the events of the last few days sufficiently reveal to us. (*Renewed applause.*)

We know now, as well as we can know anything that is still in the future, that the rebellion is to be crushed, and to be crushed speedily; that its power is gone, that its back is broken, and soon even the Government which claims to exercise its authority will be scattered. That Government, which to-day is desecrating the birth-day of the Father of his Country, will soon be a fugitive from the capital which it has selected for the scene of its operations. (*Applause.*) Who can doubt it who sees day by day the closing around it of the gigantic chain that is strangling out its life? Who can doubt it who looks at the valor that won Fort Donelson, and is now pressing on to still more glorious fields of valor and renown? (*Renewed applause.*) Who can doubt it who recalls the valor of BURNSIDE and the splendid victory of Roanoke Island? On every side the rebellion is incumbered by the forces of the Union, strong in muscular power, stronger in preparation, and strongest of all in the righteousness of their cause, and in the holy determination to win, or die in the attempt. (*Applause.*) We shall soon see this rebellion crushed; we shall have the Constitution restored; we shall have the opinions of the Fathers of the Republic enthroned in the Government of the Republic; and then we shall hear no more of the rebellion in all time to come.

I have said that it was the object of the Republican party to crush the usurped *political power and control* of slavery over the General Government. It has done it already. It had done it undoubtedly before the first gun was fired—before the first appeal was made from the decision of the ballot. The vote of 1860 settled the question for ever. Slavery as a political power was dead on the day that ABRAHAM LINCOLN was elected President. (*Loud cheering.*) I do not say that it was incapable of further mischief; so powerful an element as slavery, so great a property, having so many interests interwoven with it, had still power to inflict much mischief upon important interests of the country. But what man to-day believes, that on the day after the inauguration of LINCOLN it was in the power of the slave oligarchy to wield a control over any one single department of our Government for any length of time? Who believes that thereafter slavery could decide whether this or that man should go into the Cabinet; whether such an one should be appointed Custom-house Collector, or Postmaster, in this Union, as for years they had done? Who believes it was possible for slavery to give law to the Republic, and control its action in all its affairs—foreign and domestic? Slavery, as a political power, was dead, but, if you will excuse the Irishism, it was not *half* so dead as it is to-day. (*Applause.*) It has now, in addition to a natural death, committed suicide. It has brought upon itself the extraordinary horrors of war. Slavery can no more stand up under war than an iceberg can stand against a flood of burning lava. It melts before its hot and fervid breath. Look at Port Royal, and wherever our armies go, for proof. The advent of an army of the Union breathes upon the institution of Slavery, and it dissolves like the mists before the rising sun. (*Applause.*) Wherever our armies go, Slavery disappears. Then comes upon us the momentous task of providing for those whom it releases from all control—that control which was hateful and unjust, as well as that which is needful for their preservation.

The Republican Party stands where it always stood, the supporter of the Constitution

of the United States as our fathers gave it to us. It stands as the sworn friend of the Constitution, and the sworn foe of its enemies; and it will crush out all rebellion against its authority. It will not pause in its progress—and the whole people in the North join it in the sentiment—so long as there is a single rebel in arms on any portion of American soil. Nothing but an unconditional submission to the Constitution of the United States will end the war which is now waged against its foes. (*Applause.*)

Can we ask more than that: Can any man be so unjust to our history—to the history of the Republican Party—as to attempt to force us into a position hostile to that—hostile to the Constitution or transcending its provisions? In all our published documents from the very outset of the Republican Party—from the day when our first proclamation was given to the world at Saratoga; then at Pittsburgh; afterward at Philadelphia, and then in that immortal document—for it will become immortal—the Chicago Platform—the Republican Party has pledged itself over and over again to stand by the Constitution and the laws. It has resented with scorn and indignation all attempts to charge it with violating the Constitution or aiming to put new doctrines and new principles in its place. (*Applause.*) No; no. The Constitution which our fathers made,—which their wisdom framed,—which comes to us consecrated by their blood,—sanctified by their love,—the Constitution under which we live, and the glorious flag which is the emblem of its authority—are the pole-star—the bright cynosure of our hopes for ever. (*Loud applause and cheers.*)

Does any man fear that that Constitution will not secure to us all the liberty we need, or can desire? Does any man fear that under that Constitution and under that flag, wherever they go and are respected, they will not give freedom to all who come beneath their steady and pervading power? He who doubts must know little of its spirit, little of the soul of freedom which it embodies, little of the enfranchising power which it carries with it, wherever it goes.

I rejoice that this rebellion is apparently near its end. Sooner or later its end must come; but whether it be within sixty days, or whether it be within two years, or whether it be in the next generation, this war must be carried on until upon every foot of American soil, the authority of the Constitution is recognised. (*Applause.*) I believe this will be accomplished without any changes in the Constitution. I believe the patriotism of our people will admit of no changes in the Constitution. They will insist that all its provisions shall be administered, not in the interest of one section, or under the control of any one interest—not for the promotion of the wishes or interests, and still less for building up the political power of any section, but with that large and liberal provision for the rights of all and the freedom of all, which is the very essence of that immortal instrument. (*Applause.*)

We shall have the Union restored, I believe, without a star erased, or a State line removed—every State living under the Constitution, loyal to its spirit, and controlled by the people, who will hold it in its proper place. We have already seen some premonitory symptoms of the feeling which will be found at the very outset to pervade almost every State. I believe that, if Tennessee were called upon to vote to-day, she would cast an overwhelming vote for the Constitution and the flag of the United States. (*Applause.*) If she would not do it to-day, she would the day after our army takes possession of Nashville, and that is not a week off. (*Loud applause.*) Virginia has never voted against the Constitution of the United States. She is controlled by a gang of conspirators and rebels, who for the moment have got her loyal people under the

hoof of rebellion, trampling them into the mire of treason. Take off that hoof—hang the rebel leaders (*loud applause*) who control it now, and then you will see the old Dominion swing back to her old position, and lovingly rejoin her sisters under the Stars and Stripes. You will then see her people rejoicing again with us in the glorious memories of the old Revolution, talking of Yorktown—not of 1862, but of 1782—talking of the beneficent rule of the old Republic, and cursing with the bitterness of hate the government which attempted to usurp its authority. Louisiana at the first moment will come in upon the same terms—namely, unconditional submission to the Constitution; and I believe that will be true of nearly all the Southern States within two years. In some of them the progress may be more slow. It may take a generation to extinguish the spirit of rebellion in South Carolina, but it will, sooner or later, be extinguished. I do not consent, for one, to the giving up even of South Carolina under any circumstances. We don't want her in the Union for our purposes—but we want her for her own.

A VOICE.—Divide her up.

MR. RAYMOND.—No, I don't want her to be divided up. She must remain in the Union as a State, and we must make her people so loyal that they will curse the memory of their ancestors who attempted to take the State out of the Union. South Carolina needs what all bad children need,—*discipline*,—and that she is now getting. After we have given her people the chastisement they deserve, and have hung a dozen of the leaders who betrayed them, (*applause*), we shall have given them a lesson which their children will not forget in all time to come. But whether it takes one year, ten years, or twenty years, South Carolina must be redeemed. If we could put her into the sea; if we could sink her at the mouth of Charleston harbor, and thus establish an effectual blockade there (*laughter*), I should be glad. But we cannot; South Carolina is at least a “geographical expression,” we cannot get her off the map. I don't want to see her cut up and divided among the other States, I want her to be preserved, at least, as a relic of the great rebellion—as a curious and unique fossil, handed down to our children from another age. But we must reform and regenerate as we raise our flag over rebellious soil, and I believe it can be done, even with that most pestilent of rebel States—South Carolina.

I believe we shall restore the States all to their allegiance to the General Government; and until it is absolutely clear and certain that that cannot be done, we must proceed on the assumption *that it can be*; because, if we enter upon the new experiment of wiping out State Governments, and establishing Territorial Governments or subjugated Provinces in their stead, we enter upon a career of which no man can foresee the end. We are not engaged in such a war; the real task of Government will commence when the war is over. (*True*.) Then will come the time when great hearts and wise minds will be required to shape the institutions of the future—not under the influence of justly resentful hearts, but in accordance with that far-seeing wisdom which looks to ultimate results—the lasting welfare of great nations, and which knows the best means of attaining them. That is the task that comes upon us after the war is over. I hope that the power of the Government will not then pass into the hands of the men who have been in sympathy with the rebellion. The great mass of the people of the Northern States are as true and loyal as any people can possibly be. They love the Constitution; they will fight for it, they will die for it, if need be; nay, more, they will live for it, and exercise the best of their wisdom and judgment to make it the everlasting possession of all our people. But there are men here who have, from the beginning, in their heart

of hearts, wished for the success of the rebellion, and have done everything in their power to promote it. They will be the men—the political intriguers—who will grasp at power, and they will hurl back at the Republican party the accusation that it brought on the war. Well, perhaps the Republican party did. The Republicans certainly did issue a declaration of Independence against the supremacy of the Slave Power, and if that caused the rebellion, for my part I am willing to bear my full share, be it large or small, of the responsibility for that result. (*Applause.*) And when the history of this country comes to be written a hundred years hence, what a glorious page this era will present! What will future generations say of the men who, in 1860, dared to declare national and political independence of the Slave Power, even though the act plunged the country into civil war, through which alone it was rescued from the degrading thralldom? Will they not honor the men who had the courage to issue the second great Declaration of Independence, and who redeemed the country from the tyranny that was fast being fastened upon it? If I can trace our future history in the principles which underlie the action of the present, such will be the verdict that will be pronounced upon the actions of the Republican Party of the present day.

I beg pardon for detaining you so long, (*Voices—"go on."*) No, I don't intend to go on. I have said far more than I intended; but there is no knowing where to stop, when treating of this prolific and inspiring theme. I have sought to state the principles which underlie this contest, and which were the cause of this war. The leading principle is, that Slavery, as a political power, shall no longer control the destinies and the Government of this Republic. The Republicans declared the National independence of that control, and they appealed to the people to sustain them in that declaration. They did sustain them by their votes, and they are now doing it by their arms; and when this contest is over, they will by their statesmanship place this Republic upon the firm foundation of freedom and independence of Slavery. (*Loud applause and cheers.*) All we have to do is to be true to our past history, brief as it is, but full of lessons of wisdom. Let us be true hereafter, as we have been hitherto, to the Constitution which the fathers of the Republic handed down to us. Let the Republican Party but be true to itself and it will be true to the Constitution, and will secure for itself an honorable name and a permanent and a useful future. (*Loud cheers and applause.*)

The tenth regular toast.

The Press:—Truth's fearless champion on her midnight tower,
Whose lamp burns brightest when the tempests lower.

Hon. Horace Greeley, who was called upon to respond, was received with loud cheers, and spoke as follows.

SPEECH OF HON. HORACE GREELEY.

At this late hour of the night I shall not venture still further to deplete your waning numbers by making a speech; it is too late, and your time has been too well occupied. Let me say a few words of the uses of the press in a struggle like that in which we are now engaged. A few days ago, some week perhaps, the attention of the War Department was attracted to the subject of the great cost to the army of music; four millions of dollars a year was being paid for music for the army, and they thought it cost too much. Gentlemen, the music which has sustained the hearts and the arms of the loyal people in this struggle, this arduous and doubtful struggle, has been made, not by the bands, but by the newspapers. It was the voice of the loyal press which upheld the

country during the dark hours which followed the needless and shameful disaster of Bull Run; it is the spirit of the press reaching every log cabin, and every fireside in the country that has rallied that great army of six hundred thousand brave men, who are now writing the history of America in letters of fire. (*Cheering.*) No doubt the press has made mistakes; has been sometimes too impulsive, and sometimes too dictatorial, perhaps; but the spirit that sustained and animated it, has been one of intense devotion to Liberty and to Union, when the rulers of the country dared not whisper the word Liberty, lest there might be some danger behind it of disaffection in the border States. The press has not feared to say to the world outside as well as to the hearts of the country, that this is a war for country and for freedom. (*Applause.*) Because it is so said the ranks of the Union armies are full, and the hearts of the soldiers are strong to-day. If the men before they go down to the war do not understand the nature of this struggle, they very soon understand it after they have gone down. I met a captain in Sickles's brigade last night, who told me that when his men enlisted nine-tenths of them were ready to mob anybody who was an Abolitionist, and now they were ready to mob anybody who was *not* an Abolitionist. This country is going through an expensive schooling, but the tuition will be worth all its costs. When we get through it we shall find that we have learned a great deal more than was set down in the programme. We shall realize that all compromises with iniquity are very costly in the end. (*Great applause.*) Our patriotic merchants have found that out. They thought they were getting abominably rich out of the Southern trade; but when they come to foot up, they find that iniquity and rascality do not pay on the whole. The lessons are the lessons of the war, the lessons of courage, and honor, and fidelity, and loyalty, which are being shown now in such contests as that at Fort Donelson; these are spread broadest over the land by the loyal press. They are creating a new generation, a generation of youth around the humble firesides of the country, who are drinking in every hour lessons of patriotism, and lessons of love for liberty. These are to be the future men of the country; these are to uphold the country in the dark days which I see ahead, and through the brighter days which I am sure will succeed them. I am expecting some base compromise, whereby the war will be ended in a way not at all creditable to the American people; but I see beyond it that a few years of Pro-Slavery compromise will be succeeded by a brighter era, when the people, remembering the glorious lessons of 1860 and 1862, will return again with pride and affection to their first love, and will realize that devotion to liberty is not only honorable and worthy, but that it is the only true way of standing by their own interest and sustaining the well-being as well as the honor of the nation. I rejoice, then, in the faith that whatever may be the immediate present, the final, the future is secure. This land is to be the land of universal liberty (*great cheering*), a land where a man will not be ashamed to declare,—a land where men shall not be mobbed for declaring—that they believe in the doctrines of the Declaration of Independence. It is some years to this yet, but it is coming on, and 1862 is to be the glorious prelude to the better day that is to dawn upon us. In that faith I bid you God Speed in upholding and sustaining the principles of Republicanism, even though they should be compromised and sold out in the peace that is now not very far distant.

The eleventh regular toast

Our Adopted Fellow-Citizens—One with us in dangers and sacrifices, as they are one with us in destiny,—was briefly responded to by Dr. Sölger in a humorous and patriotic vein.

The twelfth regular toast.

12. *The Flag of the Union*—Unfurled in the name of God and Liberty; consecrated to a righteous cause by the immortal WASHINGTON; dearer to us now than ever.

The President called upon United States District Attorney, E. Delafield Smith, who was received with enthusiastic cheers.

SPEECH OF HON. E. DELAFIELD SMITH.

Admonished by the hour to which these festivities have already extended, I shall attempt to repay your generous greeting by the brevity of my response. The flag of our country! Gazing upon its beautiful combination of colors—gladdened by its recent vindication on the armed deck and the field of battle—grateful for its renewed protection by the God of our fathers,—in what words shall we address the sacred emblem of our nation's memories and hopes?

"Flag of the brave! thy folds shall fly,
The sign of hope and triumph high;
* * * * *

Flag of the seas! on ocean wave
Thy stars shall glitter o'er the brave;
* * * * *

Flag of the free heart's hope and home,
By angel hands to valor given,
The stars have lit the welkin dome,
And all thy hues were born in heaven!" (*Cheers.*)

Honor to the loyal men, who now, with enduring courage, on the southern sea coasts and in the western valleys, literally "follow the flag and keep step to the music of the Union." Tears will make green the sod above the graves of their comrades who have fallen. Bold hearts on the Potomac await the hour of action, and the course of our eagles is upward and onward. (*Renewed cheers.*)

I ask you, fellow-citizens, to unite in honoring the following sentiment: *The War for the Union*. May it never terminate until slavery shall cease to be a political power in the land, nor until traitors at home and tyrants abroad shall read, in letters of blood,—Insult not the flag of the United States of America. (*Loud and continued cheering.*)

The thirteenth regular toast.

13. *The War for the Union*—It was begun to defend and sustain the Constitution and the laws; let it be continued without truce or armistice until, by unconditional submission of every rebel in arms, the supremacy of both shall be wholly reëstablished.

Hon. George Folsom, Ex-Minister to the Hague, responded as follows:—

SPEECH OF HON. GEORGE FOLSOM.

Mr. Folsom remarked that the hour was so late he should not attempt saying anything more than a few words on the subject of the toast. In his opinion the army had accomplished as much and even more than could have been anticipated within the short time of its enrolment. Composed of men unused to war, and without the necessary training when enlisted, it was not to be expected they would all at once show themselves equal to veterans in the service; but when called to face the enemy, they have exhibited a valor and steadiness under fire worthy of the most practised and dis-

ciplined troops. Recent events prove their indomitable courage, and promise a speedy reduction of the rebel forces to complete submission.

One word as to the course pursued towards this country by foreign nations. Hitherto the great reproach thrown upon us in England and on the continent of Europe, has been the existence of slavery in the Southern States—a reproach in which we of the North have been compelled to share. How often was the American traveller compelled to hang his head with shame when this infamy of our country has been brought home to him abroad, to which no answer could be given to palliate its enormity. But now, when the existence of this evil has led to a rebellion against the Government, and an honest effort is made to extirpate it if possible from our land, what is the course taken by the foreign powers on this subject? Little short of an open alliance with slave owners and slave dealers! There is one bright exception to the unprincipled course pursued by those governments. I refer to the example of Russia, not only in setting free millions of serfs of its own empire, but by sustaining our own Government in resisting the rebellious hordes of the South. Despotie Russia against constitutional England!

But I shall not dwell on these topics so pregnant with matter of the deepest interest—let us hope that a change has at length come over the minds of the European governments with which this country has been so long at peace, a change produced by the knowledge of their mistake in sustaining pretensions so much opposed to the best interests of mankind. And should the result be to extirpate slavery from the shores of the New World, they will rejoice with us and thank Heaven for a consummation so much to be desired.

Among many interesting and patriotic letters, the following were received:—

HON. HAMILTON FISH'S LETTER.

NEW YORK, Feb. 21, 1862.

GENTLEMEN:—Absence from the City has prevented an earlier acknowledgment of your invitation to the Republican Union Festival, in commemoration of WASHINGTON'S Birthday. Another engagement for to-morrow evening prevents its acceptance; but I most cordially unite with you in congratulations on the return of the day, now more than ever joyous and welcome, by reason of the recent achievements of our national arms in maintenance of that Government of which WASHINGTON was the founder, and of that Constitution of which he was the first administrator, and of that Union which he so truly pronounced the palladium of our political safety and prosperity. I unite with you in earnest prayers, that our victories may be continuously repeated; and that blow may follow blow, strong, quick, constant, and everywhere, till every vestige of rebellion be crushed, and treason ground to the earth. And I rejoice with you that this period of our country's trial has shown the heart of the people strong in attachment to our National Union; as it has also shown their power mighty to uphold the integrity of the nation, to vindicate its authority, and to maintain its existence.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully yours,

HAMILTON FISH.

Messrs. ELLIOT C. COWDIN, and others.

COMPTROLLER HAWES' LETTER.

CITY OF NEW YORK, DEPARTMENT OF FINANCE,
COMPTROLLER'S OFFICE, Feb. 22, 1862.

MY DEAR SIR: I regret my inability to be present at the Republican Union Festival this evening, having accepted a previous invitation of a similar character for the same

hour. Added to the enjoyments incident to your social reunion, will be the gratification that he whose memory you delight to honor was one of the leading spirits in the formation of a Government which, since your last festal gathering, has successfully resisted a rebellion of the most stupendous proportions, and has thus vindicated its supremacy as a leading power among the nations of the earth. Be assured that I am with you in spirit.

Very respectfully yours,

ROBERT T. HAWS;

ELLIOT C. COWDIN, Chairman, &c.

The festivities were prolonged until a late hour, and wound up with patriotic singing. The success of the affair was greatly forwarded by the following Committee of Arrangements: Elliot C. Cowdin, Henry Smith, John Fitch, Henry W. Smith, Spencer Kirby, Wm. S. Opdyke, James H. Welsh, Jos. D. Costa, G. W. Jaques, Joshua G. Abbe.